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REVIEWS

English Colonies in America. By JOHN A. DOYLE. Volume IV: *The Middle Colonies*; Volume V: *The Colonies under the House of Hanover.* New York, Henry Holt & Company, 1907. —447, 497 pp.

After a lapse of twenty years since the issue of his first three volumes, Mr. Doyle now completes his work on the English colonies in America. The delay has been so prolonged that for a time it seemed as if the task had been permanently abandoned, or perhaps that the author had resolved to examine the mass of unprinted material which exists in the Public Record Office and elsewhere and thus to produce an exhaustive work upon the early eighteenth century. Neither supposition has proved to be true, and the work has at last been completed in general conformity with the original plan.

The main division line in our colonial history Mr. Doyle draws at 1714—the date when the house of Hanover came to the throne of England. His work is mainly concerned with the earlier period, four of his five volumes being devoted to colonial conditions before 1714. In conformity with his earlier treatment of the South and of New England, the first of the volumes now under review brings the history of the middle colonies down to the close of the reign of Anne. Of this volume considerably more than one-half is occupied with New Netherland and New York, and the rest with New Jersey and Pennsylvania, the last named colony being dismissed with a single chapter. The final volume covers the years between 1714 and 1760. Its chapters contain discussions of the general social condition of the colonies at the time, of their administrative development, their economic progress, their religion, literature and education, the relations of the settlers with the inferior races, and some account of the extent to which various European nationalities contributed to the population of the colonies. The volume closes with a detailed study of the colonization of Georgia and a rather summary account of the conquest of Canada. In the volume upon the middle colonies the treatment is to a degree systematic and in some parts quite detailed. Much the same method is followed as was apparent in the earlier instalments of the work. But the volume relating to the Hanoverian period is decidedly sketchy and unsystematic. The

impression made upon the mind of the reader is that much of the work which Mr. Doyle did upon this final volume was perfunctory. His chief interest and enthusiasm have been shown in his study of New England. With that his work reached its climax. Now and again in his later pages he refers to New England as exhibiting the most vigorous social and political life among the colonies, with which he is forced to compare other and much less efficient organizations. As the Puritan commonwealth recedes from view the interest of the writer wanes, only to reappear, as by a faint reflection, in his treatment of Oglethorpe and his experiment on the banks of the Savannah in the middle of the eighteenth century.

It is in the cosmopolitanism of the middle colonies, the varied national, social and religious elements of which their population was composed, that Mr. Doyle finds the explanation of their inertness and lack of vigor as political organizations. The contrast between them and New England in these respects was of course very marked, and the emphasis which is laid upon it is perhaps the most suggestive feature in the first of these two volumes. The gradual extension of English influence through the region which had originally been New Netherland proved the saving element. From it originated such capacity for self-government as existed there ; but even then the English of the middle colonies lacked the vigor both for attack and resistance which was implanted in New England by its religious unity.

The reader, however, will not find many such generalizations to guide his course through the pages of these volumes. The various colonies and colonial experiments he will find treated to a large extent in isolation. Judicious reflections upon characters and events abound. *Leisler*, some may think, is treated with undue harshness, while *Andros* certainly wins no laurels at the hands of this historian. Suggestive characterizations of *Stuyvesant*, *Nicolls*, *Penn*, *Dongan* and of several of the later royal governors appear. The leading features, political and social, of the colonies are outlined, and the earlier stages of their development are described ; but one misses a clear scientific view of the course and tendency of the period as a whole. This may be attributed in part to the inadequacy of the source material to which Mr. Doyle has limited himself. For New Netherland and New York he has relied very largely upon *Brodhead*—an accurate writer to be sure, but one whose methods and views can hardly be supposed to meet the requirements of the present time. Only a desultory use has been made of a part of the extant collections of documents and laws which relate to the three middle colonies. Unprinted materials, whether in England or America, the author wholly ignores.

But the writer's chief fault lies in his failure to grasp, or at least to set forth, the significance of our colonial history as a whole. This may very possibly be due to his failure to study the colonies as institutions, and to bring out in clear relief what they were, not only in themselves and in their relations to one another, but in their relations with the home government as well. This is a radical fault in all the so-called general histories of that period. They are not based upon a clear and true conception of the colonies as political structures or of British colonial policy and its influence upon them. In a certain way Mr. Doyle realizes the necessity of the broader mode of study and now and again his treatment of a subject to a certain extent conforms to it. But his work is not planned in agreement with it, and therefore he often obscures the picture by the introduction of unrelated and miscellaneous details or by the omission of significant facts. Much, for example, is said about the relations between executives and legislatures, about Indian affairs, about military operations, but we have no consistent account of the policy of the colonies in any of these matters. The omission, moreover, of all consecutive reference to Great Britain and its colonial policy makes it impossible to tell in what direction the colonies were tending; whether it was toward greater dependence or toward a higher degree of self-government. The result is that we have not a scientific history, not a comparative study of a group of related through differing political structures, not an articulate account of any phase in the growth either of the British empire or of the American nation, but a series of more or less interesting facts and comments arranged in order of time. Moreover, the division of time is unsatisfactory. If we view the colonial period as a whole and with reference to the issues that were peculiar to itself, the year 1690, not 1714, marks approximately its chief transition, and the choice of the later date tends to confuse the treatment of the whole.

It must also be said that for a satisfactory treatment of events subsequent to 1690 a writer must have at his command at least a large part of the unprinted manuscript material which exists in the Public Record Office and other British repositories, and also not a few legislative and executive journals and laws which still remain in manuscript on this side of the ocean. Of this material Mr. Doyle has made no effort to avail himself. Only occasionally in his pages do glimpses appear of the imperial point of view and of the attitude which the colonies held in reference thereto. His final volume is far more fragmentary and inadequate than any of its predecessors. One would infer from reading it that the history of a declining, rather than a growing,

political system was being related. The material which it contains is important only for certain episodes, and if it was all we had to draw upon it would be difficult to understand the significance of the Revolution. But in this regard Mr. Doyle only shows the defects which till the present time have characterized all attempts to treat from the English standpoint the period of the royal provinces and the French wars. Decades must pass before the materials for that period can be made accessible to the extent which will be necessary before a thoroughly satisfactory history of the time can be written.

Numerous errors in the spelling of proper names, which appear in the American as well as the English edition of these volumes, show careless proof-reading. In addition there are a number of unpardonable mistakes in geography. Flatlands and Flatbush are near the southwest, not the southeast, extremity of Long Island (iv, 35). Nicolls's ships anchored some distance west of Jamaica bay (iv, 98). Nine hundred miles is more than twice the distance which lies between Quebec and the Mohawk country (iv, 121). The boundary of New York was to be twenty miles east, not north, of the Hudson river (iv, 167). The Onondaga country was in central New York, and not in the region which is now Vermont (iv, 232). Newtown was on the shore of Long Island, not of Coney Island (iv, 267). The traveler passed from New Hampshire into Massachusetts by using, not the Piscataqua river, but the Merrimac (v, 5). The Ohio river can scarcely be said to have a west bank extending from the Monongahela to the Wabash (v, 265).

In the time of Stuyvesant only one patroon—Van Rensselaer—remained in New Netherland (iv, 29). The author attributes far too great significance to Nicolls's assembly at Hempstead (iv, 109), for a somewhat similar attitude was assumed by royal officials toward the assembly of Virginia before 1640. It would have been well if Mr. Doyle had given more definite reasons for supposing (iv, 159) that the Duke of York was induced by the advice of Penn to grant an assembly to his province. It is not necessary to suppose that Dongan was moved by desire for fees when he compelled the towns in New York to renew or take out patents for their lands (iv, 169). Quit-rents were a proper feature of the provincial land system, and this was the first time that decisive steps had been taken to collect them in New York. Virginia claimed repeatedly during the seventeenth century the exclusive right of self-taxation, and all or nearly all the other colonies did the same early in their existence (iv, 269). The New England colonies were involved from the beginning in the second intercolonial war, and New York

escaped for a time only because of an existing treaty of peace between the Iroquois and the French (iv, 270). Fort Frontenac was abandoned in 1689, after the Iroquois had made their attack, not on Prairie de la Madeleine, but on Lachine (iv, 280). The people of West Jersey continued to urge the claim that they had the right to choose the governor and other officers after the death of Byllinge, and were urging this claim against Daniel Coxe when they were included as a part of the Dominion of New England (iv, 334). Under the Charter of Liberties of Pennsylvania of 1701 there was an important modification of the constitutional arrangements, in that the council of the province then became appointive and ceased therefore to exercise legislative powers (iv, 424). It was Jonathan, not Andrew, Belcher who was associated with Francis Wilks as agent of Massachusetts in 1728 (v, 92). The account given of the acts of trade (v, 116) is extremely loose and unsatisfactory. It was Andrew, not Alexander, Hamilton who acted as counsel in the Zenger trial.

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Baumwollproduktion und Pflanzungswirtschaft in den nord-amerikanischen Südstaaten. By ERNST VON HALLE. Zweiter Teil: *Sezessionskrieg und Rekonstruktion.* (Schmoller und Sering, Staats- und sozialwissenschaftliche Forschungen, Band XXVI, Heft 1.) Leipzig, Duncker und Humblot, 1906.—xxvi, 669 pp.

Nine years have elapsed since Dr. von Halle published the first volume of his work bearing the above title; and in the meantime so detailed have been his researches and so voluminous his materials that he has been obliged to defer to a still more distant date and to a third volume the completion of his work, and to satisfy himself with reciting in this second volume the history of the two decades 1861-1880.

A tendency of the author which revealed itself in a marked degree in the first volume, not to confine himself to the subject-matter indicated by the title of his book, has been carried to such an excess in this second volume that the title of the book no longer conveys any correct notion of its real contents. This is the more to be deplored because the subjects treated in this second volume possess an interest for a much larger number of readers than will be likely to be attracted by the title given to the book, and because the author's work has been so patiently and carefully done that it seems desirable that it should reach a very large circle of students interested in the subject. "The Civil War and Reconstruction" is the only title which would adequately de-